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Divisions of Time

192 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new
● 805 month (wira). There are slight differences in the names of the
184 months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

Nebraska

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hûndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'ek' iru'x', raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai^{a} da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'tcera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pca'mai^{a}na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu^{a}-wai^{a}jukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Tcaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tca'hewakcu', when the deer shed their horns.

Wisconsin—

1. Hu'ndjwi tconina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai^{a}da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai^{a}ɲai 'u^{a}ɲa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'tcerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu^{a} waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Tco'mai^{a}na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Tcaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Tcahe'yakcu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the
221 activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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5. Month in which people hunt deer. At this time deer are very tame and frequent the streams.

6. Month in which people plant corn, squash, and beans.

7. Month in which people hunt deer. At this season deer are very fat. The hunters return to their homes at the beginning of the eighth month.

8. Month in which people dry corn and store it away.

9. Month in which people tie the rice stems into bundles and go through them with their canoes.

10. Month in which the people go on their fall move and hunt the larger animals.

11. Month in which the people go on their fall move and dry their meat.

12. Month in which the people return to their winter quarters.

From this calendar of activities it is apparent that the longest period the Winnebago remained at home continuously was three months, the twelfth, first, and second. They were at home also throughout the sixth and eighth months. Whether they were in their villages at intervals during the fourth and fifth months is hard to determine. It is probable that the fishing or hunting trips consumed a considerable portion of, if not the entire, month. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the Winnebago were undoubtedly away from their villages all the time.

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always celebrated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

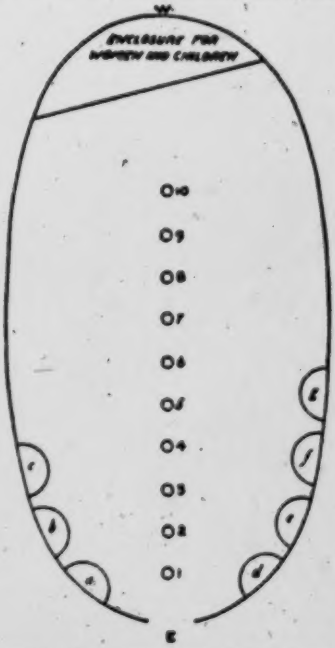

FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Hare. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Burlskin for earthmaker. 2, Burlskin for turtle. 3, Burlskin for thunderbird. 4, Burlskin for sun. 5, Burlskin for moon. 6, Burlskin for morning star. 7, Burlskin for earth. 8, Burlskin for fire. 9, Burlskin for hawks. 10, Burlskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan feast (fig. 36) were obtained, fortunately both from a man and a woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjusi'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

● [805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The [805] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit [7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast [9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*nayi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.